

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 067150

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-STADIS////////////////////

E.O. 11652: X-GDS-1

TAGS:RH, UK, PDEV

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER FROM
PRESIDENT KAUNDA

FOLLOWING LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER FROM PRESIDENT
KAUNDA WAS DELIVERED TO THE DEPARTMENT ON MARCH 14 IN
A DIPLOMATIC NOTE FROM THE ZAMBIAN EMBASSY. DEPARTMENT
IS PREPARING RESPONSE AND WOULD WELCOME SUGGESTIONS
FROM AMBASSADOR LOW.

BEGIN TEXT.
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AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE NOT RECENTLY TAKEN AN ACTIVE PART
IN THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION TO THE ENDING OF THE
REBELLION IN ZIMBABWE. I AM NOW, HOWEVER, PROMPTED BY
THE REPORTS I HAVE RECEIVED REGARDING THE EVENTS
CONCERNING THE ANGLO-AMERICAN INITIATIVE. I BELIEVE
YOU ALREADY KNOW THAT I WELCOMED THE PROGRESS DURING

THE MALTA MEETING IN JANUARY. BUT THE CONCLUSION OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN SOME BLACK LEADERS AND REBEL LEADER, IAN SMITH, POSE A THREAT TO THE SUCCESS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN INITIATIVE.

I

IN THIS CONNECTION, YOU WILL HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED MY REACTION TO YOUR PROPOSAL FOR A CONFERENCE ON ZIMBABWE. I HAVE SAID THAT I WELCOME THE CONVENING OF SUCH A CONFERENCE IN PRINCIPLE BUT I HAVE ALSO STATED THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO:

(A) GO THROUGH THE PROCESS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND CARRY THE ENTIRE SECURITY COUNCIL IN SUPPORTING THE ANGLO-AMERICAN INITIATIVE.

(B) REAFFIRM THE COMMITMENT OF THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS TO THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS.

(C) DECLARE AS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE AND DANGEROUS THE SO CALLED INTERNAL AGREEMENT SIGNED RECENTLY IN SALISBURY. ZAMBIA HAS ALREADY UNEQUIVOCALLY CONDEMNED THIS AGREEMENT.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE EFFORTS BEING MADE BY THE
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BRITISH, THE AMERICANS AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND FRONT LINE COUNTRIES SECURE THE FULL BACKING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHICH SHOULD RE-AFFIRM THE AUTHORITY GIVEN TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO WORK CLOSELY WITH ALL THOSE CONCERNED IN THOSE AREAS WHERE THE RESOLUTION GIVES HIM THE MANDATE. IN THIS WAY WE SHALL CARRY WITH US AFRICA AND THE WORLD AND THUS ISOLATE THOSE WHO ARE OPPOSED TO THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS.

I HAVE ALSO BEEN FOLLOWING WHAT I CONSIDER AN UNHAPPY TREND SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE SO-CALLED INTERNAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE REBEL REGIME AND SOME BLACK LEADERS INSIDE ZIMBABWE. AS I HAVE SAID, I SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE THE PROPOSAL FOR A MEETING ON ZIMBABWE. BUT IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS IN MY VIEW TO SET THE OBJECTIVE OF THAT CONFERENCE AS THE BRIDGING OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TWO SIDES. I WOULD REGARD THIS AS A SHIFT IN POLICY AND OBJECTIVE FOR WHICH WE LENT SUPPORT IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. I HOLD THE VIEW THAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS ARE THE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND IT IS ON THIS BASIS THAT WE IN ZAMBIA ACCEPTED THEM. WE HAVE NOT DEPARTED FROM THEM SINCE. AT THE

MOMENT, IT APPEARS THAT THE IMPRESSION IS BEING GIVEN THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ARE DIFFICULT AND INFLEXIBLE. IN MY VIEW, FIRST, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAVE NOT TOLD US IN PRIVATE OR IN PUBLIC THAT THEY INTEND TO DECLARE A GOVERNMENT IN EXILE. ON THE CONTRARY, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAVE ACCEPTED THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS AND WANT TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS AND ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT

WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THOSE PROPOSALS. IF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAD DECIDED TO GO IT ALONE AND WORKED OUTSIDE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS, THEN WE WOULD BE CORRECT TO ACCUSE THEM OF INFLEXIBILITY AND EVEN UNREASONABLENESS. IN OUR VIEW, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ARE YOUR ALLIES. THOSE WHO HAVE SIGNED THE INTERNAL CONFIDENTIAL

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AGREEMENT ARE OPPOSED TO THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. THE BRITISH, AMERICANS, THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND AFRICA SHOULD WORK WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT BECAUSE THEY SUPPORT THE PROPOSALS WHICH WE SUPPORT AND WHICH IS THE ONLY SURE WAY OF ENDING THE WAR AND GUARANTEEING PEACE AND STABILITY IN ZIMBABWE.

SECOND, THE INTERNAL BLACK LEADERS HAVE SIGNED AN AGREEMENT WITH AN ILLEGAL AND REBEL REGIME. THAT AGREEMENT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO ALL OF US WHO WANT GENUINE PEACE, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE. THE ADMINISTERING POWER, BRITAIN, HAS NOT ACCEPTED THAT AGREEMENT. THEREFORE, THAT DOCUMENT IS IN ITSELF ILLEGAL. THE BLACK SIGNATORIES TO THAT AGREEMENT HAVE CONSPIRED TO ENTRENCH THE REBELLION BY ALIGNING THEMSELVES WITH THE ILLEGAL REGIME. THEY NOW ARE PART OF THE REBELLION. BY THEIR ACTION THEY ARE OBSTRUCTING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WHICH ARE SUPPORTED BY HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT, THE ONLY GOVERNMENT THAT CAN GRANT LEGAL INDEPENDENCE.

THIRD, SMITH FOR HIS PART HAS SAID HE WILL NOT ATTEND THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE ON ZIMBABWE EXCEPT AS A MEMBER OF HIS INTERIM GOVERNMENT WHICH HE IS BENT ON CONSTITUTING SOON. THAT INTERIM ADMINISTRATION IN WHICH SMITH WILL STILL BE PRIME MINISTER WILL BE ILLEGAL. WE HAVE ASKED THE QUESTION: WHAT HAPPENS IF SMITH REFUSES TO ATTEND THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE?

IN OUR VIEW, ATTENTION SHOULD NOT BE FOCUSED ON THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WHO ALREADY SUPPORT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS AND WITH WHOM SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS WAS MADE IN MALTA IN SEEKING WAYS OF IMPLEMENTING THOSE PROPOSALS. CONFIDENTIAL

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FOCUS MUST BE ON THE BLACK LEADERS WHO HAVE DECIDED TO JOIN HANDS WITH THE REBELS TO OBSTRUCT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WITH TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES FOR ZIMBABWE AND SOUTHERN AFRICA AS A WHOLE. THE CHALLENGE OF THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS IS TO PREVENT THE CONSUMATION OF THIS CONSPIRACY TO ENTRENCH IAN SMITH'S POWER IN THE REBEL BRITISH COLONY. SO, ADVERSE PUBLICITY SHOULD BE ON THOSE WHO HAVE ACCEPTED TO WORK WITH AN ILLEGAL REGIME AGAINST

AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED POSITION.

I AM, THEREFORE, URGING YOU TO STOP THOSE BLACK LEADERS FROM CO-OPERATING WITH SMITH AND TO WITHDRAW THEIR COMMITMENT TO A VERY UNWISE AGREEMENT WHICH WILL COST THEM VERY DEARLY IN FUTURE WHEN THEY ARE CALLED TO ACCOUNT. A MOVE IN THAT DIRECTION WILL SET THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AT EASE IN THEIR NEGOTIATIONS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. WE WHO SUPPORT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN THEIR WAR WOULD CERTAINLY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO PERSUADE THEM TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE WHEN IT IS CLEAR THAT THE DIFFICULT PEOPLE ARE THOSE WHO HAVE SIGNED A TRAGIC DEAL COMPLETELY OUTSIDE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. THOSE ARE THE PEOPLE WE MUST BRING BACK INTO THE ANGLO-AMERICAN LINE WHERE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAVE CONSISTENTLY REMAINED.

AS I RE-AFFIRM TO YOU MY SUPPORT FOR YOUR PROPOSED CONFERENCE, I REQUEST THAT YOU ALSO CONSIDER THESE VIEWS. THIS MESSAGE COMES TO YOU WITH MY WARMEST REGARDS AND GOD'S BLESSINGS.

KENNETH D. KAUNDA, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA.
END TEXT. VANCE

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